DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 142 874 CG 011 603

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TITLE Self-Concept and Drug Involvement Among Urban Junior High School Youths.
PUB DATE Dec 76
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, N.Y., April 4-8, 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Black Students; *Drug Abuse; *Environmental Influences; Junior High Schools; *Junior High School Students; Parent Child Relationship; Peer Relationship; Puerto Ricans; Questionnaires; School Attitudes; *Self Concept; *Sociocultural Patterns; *Urban Youth

ABSTRACT

Data from a survey of inner-city junior high school youths examined how their self-images related to their drug use. Boys and girls who were oriented to drug/gang or drug culture values were involved with drugs; those who were educationally oriented were not into substance taking. In finding that the boys and girls related to their environment in a manner that was consistent with their drug taking, the results emphasize the interface of personality and socio/cultural perspectives on substance use. Limited insight into the youngsters' drug behavior is provided by focusing on them as individuals or on prevalent values in their community. Neighborhood values assume importance when they become internalized into the youths' self-perceptions and are reflected in their activities. (Author)

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SELF-CONCEPT AND DRUG INVOLVEMENT AMONG URBAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL YOUTHS

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December 1976

CG 011603

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We are grateful for the assistance given us by the principal, teachers and parents of the junior high school who must remain anonymous. The reactions of many youngsters to earlier versions of the survey instruments were valuable to our research effort. The support and encouragement of the New York State Office of Drug Abuse Services, and especially Douglas S. Lipton, Director of the Division of Cost Effectiveness and Evaluation, are appreciated. Ken Marion, Dean Babst, Sharon Diamond, Carol Spielman and Phyllis Bergman were helpful in processing the data. However, these persons are not responsible for the views that are expressed in the paper or the ways in which the data were examined.

INTRODUCTION

Two foci of interest are reflected in theory and research regarding drug use. The older, more established view sees drug taking as reflecting personality dynamics. Tracing from the early work of Kolb (1925), Felix (1944), Glover (1949), Rado (1957) and Ausubel (1958), this conception argues that substance use results from disturbances in personality functioning in the areas of relating to others, coping with frustration, anxiety and stress. The cultural and social background experiences of people who become dependent on drugs are sometimes considered important in the process by which drug dependence comes about (cf. Chein, Gerard, Lee and Rosenfeld, 1964). However, critical influence is usually placed on the ability of the user to relate to others and the pressures or expectations of life in ways that preclude pursuit of anti-social, drug behavior. In this vein, research has found that persons who become involved with drugs, including marijuana, tend to have unsatisfactory experiences at home (Tec, 1970; Seldin, 1972); Frankel, Behling and Dix, 1975) and at school (Shetterly, 1971; Frenkel, Robinson and Fiman, 1974).

Socio-cultural theories of drug use assert that the factors of background, cultural experience and social context are essential in understanding the process by which substance relationships are established and maintained. Blum and his

associates (1972) have found, for example, that youthful drug use varies with type of family life. Substance users tend to come from expressive and liberal households, whereas non-users are products of conservative discipline stressing families. Relatedly, Smart and Fejer (1972) uncovered a strong association between the drug use of young people and that of their parents. Further, as the work of Becker (1953), Young (1971), Johnson (1973) and Kandel (1973, 1974) point out, substance taking is a social experience, with a strong relationship existing between personal and friends' use of drugs. On another level, patterns of drug use and the factors relating to substance taking have been found to reflect various values and styles of life that obtain among different ethnic groups (Levine and Stephens, 1973; Iijama, Nishi and Johnson, 1976; Cockerham, Forslund and Raboin, 1976). These experiences are seen to make certain factors more salient in the drug use of some groups, than for others. For example, a recent survey of inner-city junior school youths (Dembo, Burgos, Des Jarlais and Schmeidler, 1976) found ethnicity to interact with the youngsters' background and attitude/value characteristics in predicting their drug involvement. Of particular interest was the overall, inverse relationship that was uncovered between the students' perceived, positive relationships with their parents and their involvement with substances. Further analysis showed that perceived, poor

family relationships were more strongly associated with substance use among the Puerto Rican youths studied, than among their Black counterparts; these findings highlighted the need to consider ethnicity as an important factor in understanding the youngsters' substance use.

Personality and socio-cultural perspectives on drug use have long been regarded as divergent, rather than as complementary. A major reason for this view can be traced to the early psychological theories of addiction discussed above which were based on a narrow conception of personality in terms of dynamics relating to pathological syndromes. This emphasis precluded an appreciation of personality-environment interaction in the formation of the person. However, recent research, stressing the importance of the processes by which cultural values in social settings become internalized into peoples' perceptions of themselves and their behavior (cf. Dembo, 1974), highlights the need to direct our attention to the structural aspect of personality. There is especial need to study further such cognitive structures as self-concept (Wylie, 1974) by which people orient themselves to, regulate or modify various environmental influences.

Self-concept theories are based on the assumption that a complete understanding and prediction of behavior can only be based on knowledge of how an individual consciously perceives his environment, and the relationship of himself to various

options or opportunities that are seen available for self-realization (Wylie, 1974). Lecky (1961) emphasized the view that the self-concept is an organized system of values that are mutually consistent. His notion of the self included: (1) the concepts and valuations held by the individual towards himself, (2) important others, and (3) towards the objects, attitudes and behavior patterns are that are prevalent in his environment. Related to this conception is the notion that behavior is unified by an effort to maintain the organization of the self-concept. Of all the attitudes, values and behavior possibilities that are available in a given social setting, the individual selectively assimilates those that permit him to actualize the self-concept he has developed. By acting in ways that are consistent with one's values and beliefs, the person maintains a stable view of himself; reciprocally, the individual's orientations influence the kind of behavior he enacts.

Research into the relationship between individuals' self-concepts and their involvement with substances has been limited in scope, primarily focusing on the degree of consistency existing between actual and ideal self-concept. The ideal self-concept refers to the aspirations the individual has for himself and his perception of the ideals others have in regard to him (Wylie, 1968). The magnitude of the discrepancy between the self and ideal self-concepts is regarded as an

index of self-esteem or self-acceptance. In this vein, McKenna-Hartung, Hartung and Baxter (1970) found a higher degree of self/ideal self-concept congruence among persons using LSD than among their controls. Additionally, in both actual self and ideal self-descriptions, LSD users expressed more rebelliousness, distrust of authorities, and less competitiveness, than non-drug using persons. Mukherjee and Scherer (1970) controlled for social desirability in self-descriptions and found that persons reporting moderate drug involvement were significantly more congruent in their views of themselves than heavy and non-users. Cohen, White and Schoolar (1971) learned that persons referred to a clinic for treatment of drug abuse reported an ideal of suspiciousness, passive rebellion and rejection of traditional values. And, in a survey of substance use among college students, Robbins, Robbins, Frosch and Stern (1970) found drug users rated themselves as usually bored, cynical and rebellious more frequently than did non-users. However, actual and ideal self-concept congruence was not measured in this inquiry.

Although interesting, these reported studies provide a limited basis for making generalizations about the relationship between self-concept and substance involvement for a number of reasons. First, members of treatment or clinical populations are probably not comparable to untreated groups attending college. Second, most subjects were of high school

or college age; little attention was paid to drug involvement among younger or older persons. Third, the studies assessed very general aspects of the self-concept, which have limited utility in the prediction of drug use. Fourth, the research does not control for social context. Such control would permit a focus on the range of self-identification possibilities existing in particular settings, and seeing how these relate to substance use. And, fifth, these inquiries are primarily concerned with the individual, and place secondary emphasis on the important interface occurring between the person and environment. It is this interaction which makes one's self-concept a critical link between the psychological and socio-cultural levels of analysis.

The present study, assessing the extent to which values relevant to drug involvement among youths in an inner-city environment are associated with their self-perceptions and drug use, was able to manage some of the theoretical and methodological shortcomings of traditional self-concept—drug use research. The results have important implications for: (1) understanding how the use of substances relates to the kinds of adaptations the youths make to the social setting in which they live, and (2) drug education and prevention efforts.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this paper were obtained from a Winter 1976 survey of junior high school students living in a heterogeneous

socio-economic and cultural catchment area. Questionnaires were administered in the social studies classrooms of the 7th, 8th and 9th graders in one class period.

The extensively pretested questionnaire that was used was developed from ethnographic work among individuals and groups in neighborhoods that were similar to those covered by the school. The final instrument incorporated the creative reactions of panels of youngsters to earlier versions in regard to content and format.

The interests in constructing the questionnaire were to help the researchers, school personnel and members of the community understand better the opinions and values of the students on a wide range of issues and experiences associated with substance use, as well as learn about their drug taking behavior, so that engaging and effective drug education and prevention programs could be devised for them. Reflective of these concerns, separate sets of questions were developed or adapted from previous research to learn the following: (1) background information, (2) reasons why people use drugs, (3) perceived relationships with parents, (4) the youths' self-images, (5) "machismo" attitudes, (6) feelings about the school experience, and (7) the use of seven categories of substances (alcohol, marijuana (including hashish), depressants, LSD or similar drugs, narcotics, solvents and stimulants).[1]

Attendance-Completion Rates

Rates of participation on this voluntary survey were impressive. As Table 1 shows, almost all of the pupils in attendance at the time of the survey took part. These 1,101 youths represent 83% of the students enrolled in the school.

We believe this high response rate was facilitated by the youths' belief in the sincerity of our research interests, as well as the cooperation and support of school officials, teachers and parents. Participation was also helped by the manner in which anonymity was protected. Students were asked not to put their names, or any other symbol of identification, anywhere on the questionnaires. Seals were provided for the youths to secure their responses from scrutiny from anyone other than the researchers.

Description of the Sample

Boys (49%) and girls (51%) were equally represented in the survey. Forty-two per cent of the youngsters were in the 7th grade, 33% were eighth graders and 25% were in their last junior high school year.

While a majority of the youths (58%) resided with both their parents, a sizeable proportion indicated that they lived in a mother headed household (36%). Puerto Rican (44%) and Black (40%) students were approximately equally represented, and these ethnic groups were followed by White (6%) and other

TABLE 1

ENROLLMENT AND QUESTIONNAIRE COMPLETION RATES BY GRADE

Grade	Number Enrolled	Percent Present in Class For Survey of Those Enrolled	Percent Completing Questionnaire of Those Present	Percent Completing Questionnaire of Those Enrolled
7th	538	86.1%	99.4%	85.5%
8th	448	81.0%	99.7%	80.8%
9th	344	85.2%	95.2%	81.1%
Total	1330	84.1%	98.4%	82.8%

Hispanic (4%) youths, such as those from Cuban or Columbian backgrounds, and by members of Other, mostly Oriental, cultural groups (3%). A large majority of the students were born in New York City (76%) or elsewhere in the United States (6%).

Socio-economic status was measured by questions asking the years of education of the youth's household head and that person's occupational level. Results indicate that 8% of the youngsters' heads of household had eighth grade educations or less, 12% completed some years of high school short of graduation, 18% finished high school, 6% took some college work, 8% were college graduates, and 3% pursued graduate or professional study. In regard to occupation, 25% of the students noted their head of household held a professional or owner/managerial position, about a third a sales, clerical or service job, 4% semi-skilled or unskilled occupations; and 4% indicated their family head was unemployed.

As the two socio-economic measures' percentage distributions suggest, there were considerable proportions of no answers or "don't know" replies to these questions. Discussions with school officials, teachers, as well as our own experience, suggests that the educational level measure more closely reflects the youngsters' socio-economic situation, than does the occupation question. About 60% of the youths live in low-income housing locations, and some 40% reside in

lower-middle income neighborhoods. These facts converge with the level of education data in suggesting the low to middle SES range of the families that are represented by the youths in the study. Social desirability apparently had a strong influence in the students' responses to the item probing household head occupation. Further, pupils residing in one parent households tended to not answer the occupational question.

The Youths' Self-Images, Attitudes and Values

Self-Images

The boys' and girls' self-perceptions were probed by somewhat different sets of questions, which asked them to indicate their similarity or dissimilarity to fourteen youth types along a five point scale. Adapted from previous research, this instrument has successfully been used in predicting secondary school students' interests and activities (Murdock and Phelps, 1973) and aggression (Dembo, 1973, 1974). The descriptions that were given to the boys and the girls are presented in Appendix A and Appendix B, respectively.

Using the principal factor method with iterated commonality estimation (program PA2 in Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975), factor analyses of the intercorrelations among the self-image items were undertaken separately for the boys and the girls. For each sex, four principal factors had eigenvalues greater than one, and were

varimax rotated. Three of the four resulting varimax factors for each sex group had eigenvalues greater than 1.00 and had meaningful interpretations. Tables 2 and 3 give the loadings of the items on the clusters for the boys and girls, respectively.

For the boys, a *drug/gang* factor, having an eigenvalue of 1.48 and being highly weighted on *Ken*—hustler, knows the ins and outs of the dope scene and including *Joe*—gang member and *Frank*—"cool" cat who is into reefers, was the first isolated. The second factor, labelled *male "ideal,"* has an eigenvalue of 1.27 and stresses such youth types as *Andy*—dates a lot, *Jason*—tough and *Charlie*—natural leader. The third, *educational orientation*, cluster with an eigenvalue of 1.20, shows a high positive loading on *John*—school achiever and negative emphases on *Mike*—school rejector and *George*—hangs out with friends.

For the girls, the first, *leader/gang* cluster that was isolated, having an eigenvalue of 1.35, stresses *Gail*—natural leader, *Isabel*—gang member, *Janey*—streetwise, *Sharon*—hangs out with friends and *Cathy*—tough. *Drug culture*, the second factor, is highly weighted on *Diana*—"cool" cat who is into reefers and also includes *Fran*—knows the streets, ins and outs of the dope scene. It has an eigenvalue of 1.13. *Educational orientation* was the third varimax dimension isolated. Having an eigenvalue of 1.03, it strongly and positively loads on

TABLE 2

LOADING OF THE BOY SELF-IMAGE ITEMS ON THE THREE VARIMAX FACTORS (N=461) +

(Decimal points omitted)

Item	Factor		
	Drug/Gang	Male "Ideal"	Educational
Andy—dates a lot	15	61	09
Bob—good friend	-07	03	05
Charlie—natural leader	16	42	-08
Frank—"cool" cat	46	34	-32
George—hangs out with friends	09	00	-42
Harry—streetwise	16	31	-28
Jason—tough	26	49	-29
Joe—gang member	61	28	-16
John—school achiever	-21	00	62
Ken—hustler, knows ins and outs of dope scene	80	16	-16
Mike—school rejector	25	31	-48
Paul—pop music fan	-02	26	-26
Peter—school plugger	-02	02	01
Phil—sports interest	02	06	-10
Eigenvalue	1.48	1.27	1.20

+ 90% of the boys answered thirteen or all fourteen of the questions; 4.6% did not respond to any of them.

TABLE 3

LOADING OF THE GIRL SELF-IMAGE ITEMS ON THE THREE VARIMAX FACTORS (N=517) +

(Decimal points omitted)

Item	Factor		
	Leader/Gang	Drug Culture	Educational
Carol—pop music fan	21	24	-15
Cathy—tough	34	06	-02
Diana—"cool" cat	14	76	-14
Fran—knows the streets, ins and outs of dope scene	23	42	-03
Gail—natural leader	58	12	-04
Hilary—school achiever	00	-02	74
Isabel—gang member	48	19	-16
Janey—streetwise	48	20	-04
Joan—good friend	14	02	12
Liz—homebody	-18	-11	26
Mary—school plugger	-03	01	03
Pat—desired chick	24	29	-14
Sharon—hangs out with friends	40	24	-32
Sheila—school rejector	22	26	-45
Eigenvalue	1.35	1.13	1.03

+ 95.2% of the girls completed thirteen or all fourteen questions; 2.9% did not reply to any.

Hilary—school achiever, and is negatively weighted on *Sheila* school rejector.

Attitudes and Values

The sets of questions that were used to probe the youths' opinions and feelings in regard to: (1) reasons why people use drugs, (2) relationships with parents, (3) attitudes to school, and (4) attitudes toward male sex role (machismo) behavior will be treated in a summary fashion, as a detailed discussion of their content and the factor analyses of these four and five point scales appears elsewhere (Dembo, Burgos, Des Jarlais and Schmeidler, 1976)[2]. The following key dimensions were uncovered which permitted examination of the four attitude and value areas:

a. Reasons for Drug Use:

Two varimax factors were isolated, each having eigenvalues above unity. The first cluster, labelled *peer-social*, heavily weighed on items indicating drug use because other people did so and to prove to friends that one is not afraid to take substances. The second, *escape from problem*, factor highly loaded on questions referring to the use of drugs to cope with one's personal problems, family difficulties and to escape from everyday concerns.

b. Felt Relationships with Parents:

This was the main principal factor, accounting for 33% of the explained variance, which strongly reflected the youths' perceptions of feeling close to their parents, that their parents cared about them, that they were able to speak with their parents about important problems and that there was mutual understanding about the youngsters' friends.

c. Attitudes to School:

The main principal factor, accounting for 26% of the variance, was used to measure the youths' feelings about the school experience. The factor covered a wide range of issues, including the perceived value of school, whether teachers were seen to care for, or be involved with, students, and the youths treatment in the classrooms.

d. Male Sex Role Values (Machismo):

Specially developed for this study, these questions were phrased in such a manner that they could be answered by both boys and the girls. The item set probed the youths' machismo, male dominance, orientations in a number of areas: the importance of proving one's strength, who should run the household and the value of being good at sports. The main principal factor, which accounted for 22% of the explained variance, best captured this dimension.

In order that as much data as possible could be used in the analyses, the factor scores that were created used a zero (the mean of the Z-score for each self-image and attitude/value factor) for a non-response. However, youngsters who did not answer all the items in a given set were excluded from the factor score calculation for that scale. The factor scores were derived in such a manner that the higher the score, the greater the youths' orientation or adherence to the opinion or value dimension measured by the cluster.

Drug Involvement

A major interest of the survey was to learn the youths' patterns of substance use. Less than 6% of the students indicated they ever used any of the substances listed in each

of the depressants, LSD or similar drugs, narcotics, solvents or stimulant categories. On the other hand, 47% and 19% of the youths, respectively, claimed to have taken alcohol and marijuana one or more times in their lives; and 37% said they used alcohol, and 16% marijuana, during the six month period prior to the survey.

The skewed marginal frequencies in the data precluded meaningful, multi-dimensional factor analyses of the drug use information (cf. Kessler, Paton and Kandel, 1976). However, a Guttman analysis was undertaken on the ever used responses, with the substance categories being placed into four groups. The results indicated that the scale was strongly uni-dimensional. A .952 Guttman reproducibility coefficient and a .822 scalability coefficient (Menzel, 1953) were found for the index. The number and per cent distribution of the 958 students for whom there was sufficient information to assign them to one of the four categories were:

(1) All use denied (N=402; 42%);

(2) Only alcohol use admitted (N=293; 31%);

(3) Marijuana—and usually alcohol—use admitted (N=148; 15%); and

(4) Use of other substances—and usually marijuana and alcohol (N=115; 12%).

Analogous to the measure developed by Single, Kandel, and Faust (1974), the scale reflects an increasing involvement

with substances as we move from the no use, through the alcohol and marijuana, to the use of other drugs categories.

The drug use data we obtained should be regarded as conservative estimates of the substance usage among the junior high school students. Seventeen per cent of the students enrolled in the school did not participate in the survey. Research has found that youths who do not regularly attend school tend to use various substances more often than those who do (Roth, 1972; Lavenhar, Wolfson, Sheffet, Einstein and Louria, 1972; Kandel, 1975).

RESULTS

Deriving from the theoretical interests of the paper, the analysis was directed to assessing the relationship of the boys' and girls' self-image clusters to their background, attitude/value characteristics and their substance involvement. Before this study of the data was pursued, examination was made of the association of ethnicity with the youngsters' self-perceptions. This analysis was based on the results of an earlier study, which indicated that, while ethnicity did not directly relate to the youths' drug involvement, it interacted with other factors, such as school grade (age) perceived relationships with parents and attitudes to school in predicting substance use (Dembo, Burgos, Des Jarlais and Schmeidler, 1976). However, regression analyses for both the

boys and the girls indicated that the Black, Puerto Rican, White, Other Hispanic and "Other" ethnic group students who were studied did not differ in their self-images or in their drug involvement.[3]

In line with the theoretical interests of this paper, significant relationships were uncovered between the boys' and girls' self-images and their drug involvement.[4] Among the boys, drug involvement is significantly and positively associated to drug/gang and male "ideal" self-orientations, and negatively related to educational self-perceptions.

A similar pattern holds for the girls. Here, involvement with substances relates positively to drug culture and leader/gang self-images and negatively to school orientations. These results are given in Table 4.

Background, Attitude and Value Correlates of the Boys' and Girls' Self-Conceptions

Table 4 shows a number of interesting relationships to hold between the boys' and girls' self-images and factors of their background, their attitudes and values.

Among its other interesting relationships, Table 4 shows school grade (age) to be positively related to drug/gang self-images for the boys. Among the girls, age relates positively to the holding of drug culture self-perceptions, and negatively to leader/gang identifications.

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CORRELATIONS (r) BETWEEN THE BOYS' AND GIRLS' SELF-IMAGE FACTORS, THEIR DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, ATTITUDE AND VALUE CHARACTERISTICS AND THEIR DRUG INVOLVEMENT

BOYS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
1. Drug culture self-image		.22^{XXX}	-.12^{XX}	.13^{XX}	.08	-.10	.04	-.13^{XX}	-.01	-.33^{XX}	-.22^{XXX}	.18^{XXX}	.40^{XXX}	1. Drug culture self-image
2. Educational self-image	.15^{XXX}		-.10^{X}	-.11^{X}	.08	.09	.10	.10^{X}	.11^{X}	-.19^{XXX}	-.13^{XX}	.09^{X}	.26^{XXX}	2. Leadership self-image
3. Male "ideal" self-image	.21^{XXX}	-.13^{XX}		.03	-.01	.00	-.07	.03	.02	.29^{XXX}	.44^{XXX}	-.05	-.20^{XXX}	3. Educational self-image
4. School grade (age)	.13^{XX}	-.03	.01		.02	-.11	-.10	-.04	.04	-.04	.04	.00	.09^{X}	4. School grade (age)
5. Home composition	.14^{XXX}	-.18^{XXX}	.10^{X}	.04		-.04	.00	-.02	.03	-.15^{XXX}	-.03	.00	.10^{X}	5. Home composition
6. Head of household's educational level	-.06	.09	-.01	-.04	-.04		.25^{XXX}	.04	-.04	.03	.07	-.26^{XXX}	-.05	6. Head of household's educational level
7. Head of household's occupation	.04	.08	.00	-.02	-.03	.29^{XXX}		.07	-.03	-.06	-.01	-.09	.05	7. Head of household's occupation
8. Peer-social reasons for drug use	-.04	.09^{X}	-.09^{X}	-.03	-.03	.04	.04		.22^{XX}	.04	.05	-.05	.00	8. Peer-social reasons for drug use
9. Escape from problems reasons for drug use	.00	.08	-.04	.10^{X}	.01	.00	-.12^{X}	.29^{XXX}		.01	.09^{X}	.02	.07	9. Escape from problems reasons for drug use
10. Relationships with parents	.28^{XXX}	.32^{XXX}	-.11^{X}	-.12^{XX}	-.20^{XXX}	.08	.09	.07	-.01		.28^{XXX}	.00	-.32^{XXX}	10. Relationships with parents
11. Attitudes to school	-.28^{XXX}	.46^{XXX}	-.20^{XXX}	-.08	-.17^{XXX}	.11	.07	.10^{X}	.05	.42^{XXX}		-.19^{XXX}	-.28^{XXX}	11. Attitudes to school
12. Machismo	.22^{XXX}	-.20^{XXX}	.26^{XXX}	-.00	.00	-.03	-.03	.03	-.05	-.04	-.26^{XXX}		.04	12. Machismo
13. Drug involvement	.25^{XXX}	-.30^{XXX}	.19^{XXX}	.23^{XXX}	.12^{X}	-.07	.11	-.07	-.01	-.27^{XXX}	-.27^{XXX}	.11^{X}		13. Drug involvement
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	

GIRLS

*Non-responses and non-usable answers have been excluded from these correlations. The Head of household's educational level N varies from 200 to 203 for the boys and from 202 to 203 for the girls; the Head of household's occupation N varies from 324 to 333 for the boys and from 313 to 316 for the girls. All the other correlations are based on Ns between 445 and 827 for the boys and from 488 to 604 for the girls. The correlations between Head of household's education level and occupation are based on 225 and 203 cases for the boys and girls, respectively. The variables used in this analysis were coded as follows: parental position: 7th=7, 8th=8, 9th=9; home composition: lives with both parents=1, lives with mother or father=2, living with neither parents=3, Head of household's education: grade or less=1, some high school=2, high school graduate=3, some college=4, college graduate=5, graduate or professional study=6; Head of household's occupation: unemployed=1, laborer=2, sales, clerical, service, skilled or semi-skilled worker=3, professional or owner/manager=4; drug involvement: all use denied=1, only alcohol use admitted=2, marijuana and usually alcohol-use admitted=3, use of other substances and usually marijuana and alcohol=4. The peer-social and escape from problems reasons for using drugs, relationships with parents, attitudes to school, machismo values, and the boys' and girls' self-image factor scores were constructed such that the lower the score the less the adherence to the attitude, value or self-image dimension reflected in the factor, the higher the score the greater the adherence to the attitude, value or self-image dimension.

Two-tailed test significance levels:

^{X} P < .05

^{XX} P < .01

^{XXX} P < .001 (Conventional guidelines which these findings are not intended.)

For the boys, living in non-intact households is: (1) positively associated with drug/gang and male "ideal" self-perceptions, and (2) negatively related to educational self-orientations. Home composition is not seen to be an important factor in the self-images of the girls.

Close study of the boys' and girls' correlation matrices indicates that SES, indexed by the education and occupation levels of the youngsters' household heads, bears no relationship to their self-images or their drug involvement. Given the limitations in these two measures, socio-economic status appears, like ethnicity, to be relatively independent of the views the youths' have of themselves and their substance involvement.

Belief in peer-social reasons for drug use are positively associated with educational self-images, but negatively related to male "ideal" self-conceptions, for the boys. Among the girls, this factor is negatively associated with drug culture self-images, and positively related to leader/gang self-identifications. Belief in escape from problems reasons for drug use do not relate significantly to the boys' self-images. For the girls, however, this basis for drug taking is positively associated with leader/gang self-identifications.

Perceived satisfying relationships with parents holds interesting relationships with youths' self-images. This

factor is (1) negatively associated to the holding of drug/gang and male "ideal" self-views, and (2) positively related to educational self-orientations among the boys. A similar pattern of associations is uncovered for the girls. Here, perceived good relationships with one's family is: (1) negatively related to drug culture and leader/gang self-identifications, and (2) positively associated with educational orientations.

Favorable attitudes to school relate negatively to drug/gang and male "ideal" self-images for the boys, and positively to educational self-perceptions among this sex group. The girls' data indicate a similar pattern of relationships. Favorable views of the school experience are negatively associated with drug culture and leader/gang self-conceptions, and positively related to the holding of educational self-views. In addition to their intrinsic interest, these relationships are a reliability check on the self-image results. Because it could be expected that educationally oriented youths would value the school experience, whereas youngsters who were not educationally oriented would not, the attitude to school factor was excluded from the partial correlation analyses to be discussed below.[5]

The holding of machismo values positively relates to drug/gang and male "ideal" self-conceptions among the boys; this factor is negatively related to educational self-images

for this sex group. Of considerable interest, girls who espouse machismo values hold drug culture and leader/gang self-identifications. They, also, tend to come from families whose head has a low level of education.

Self-Images and Drug Involvement Among the Boys

There were mutual relationships among the boys' background, attitude and value characteristics, their self-perceptions, and their drug involvement. Accordingly, examination was made of the extent to which the association between these youths' self-image factors and their substance use was influenced by the features of their backgrounds, opinions and values that we probed. This was accomplished by partial correlations that were obtained between each self-image cluster and drug involvement, controlling for school grade (age), home composition, peer-social and escape from problems reasons for drug use, perceived relationships with parents and holding of machismo values. When this was done, the original self-image factor-substance involvement relationships, although somewhat reduced in magnitude, remained strongly significant, as is shown in Table 5. The boys' self-perceptions are seen to be most salient predictors of their drug involvement.[6]

The Girls' Self-Perceptions and their Substance Involvement

Mutual relationships were, also, uncovered among the girls' self-images, their background, opinion and value

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP (r) BETWEEN THE BOYS' AND GIRLS' SELF-IMAGE FACTORS AND THEIR DRUG INVOLVEMENT, CONTROLLING FOR THEIR BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDE/VALUE CHARACTERISTICS

BOYS

a. Original Relationship Between Self-Images and Drug Involvement

Drug/Gang	Educational	Male "Ideal"
.346*** (N=451)	-.303*** (N=451)	.193*** (N=451)

b. Relationship Between Self-Images and Drug Involvement with Background and Attitude/Value Characteristics Controlled

Drug/Gang	Educational	Male "Ideal"
.246*** (N=440)	-.206*** (N=440)	.140** (N=440)

GIRLS

a. Original Relationship Between Self-Images and Drug Involvement

Drug Culture	Educational	Leader/Gang
.456*** (N=501)	-.203*** (N=501)	.264*** (N=501)

b. Relationship Between Self-Images and Drug Involvement with Background and Attitude/Value Characteristics Controlled

Drug Culture	Educational	Leader/Gang
.395*** (N=492)	-.122*** (N=492)	.217*** (N=492)

Two-tailed test significance levels:

* $P < .05$

** $P < .01$

*** $P < .001$ (Correlation probabilities below this level are not recorded.)

attributes and their involvement with substances. The influence of the girls' background and attitude/value characteristics on the relationship between their self-conceptions and drug involvement was, accordingly, assessed by partial correlation analysis in the same manner as described for the boys. The results, presented in Table 5, clearly show the girls' self-images to be highly related to their involvement with substances, even when features of their background, and their attitudes and values are controlled. While the original self-perception-drug involvement associations are reduced, this reduction is of relatively small magnitude.[7]

DISCUSSION

The reader is cautioned to keep two things in mind in considering the findings that were obtained in this research. First, "drug involvement" for the junior high school students we studied refers primarily to alcohol and marijuana. Accordingly, the drug involved students should not be confused with prevalent stereotypes of "hard core", heroin users. Second, our correlation analyses preclude assessments of the causal relationships that hold between the youths' self-conceptions and their substance use. Given the nature of the data, however, it is likely that both experiences interact to produce the results we uncovered.

In showing the boys' and girls' self-images to be significantly related to their involvement with substances, the results raise a number of important issues in regard to the association between personality and socio-cultural views of drug use and drug prevention strategies for youths in the inner-city.

Our findings indicate that drug use is motivated, adjustive behavior, holding a complex relationship to the youngsters' personalities and the values in their environment, however this situation may be evaluated by outsiders from different life experiences. The youths are best seen as internalizing features of their environment in such a manner that they fit in with their self-conceptions. Hence, focussing on the youngsters as individuals or psychological entities or on the cultural values which are prevalent in their neighborhood would provide a limited understanding of them and their substance taking behavior. Cultural values become important when they are incorporated into people's self-perceptions and are reflected in their activities.

Both the boys' and girls' self-image factors were significantly correlated with substance use. While the items for the boys were not identical with those for the girls, they were sufficiently similar to permit some cross-sex comparisons.

For each sex group, an "educational" factor was uncovered that loaded positively on school achievement and negatively on rejection of school. School activities thus appear to form a basis for self-concept among the boys and girls; and self-perception as educationally motivated is negatively associated with drug use.

There is some suggestion in the data of a "gang" factor for both sex groups, although there are some variations in the loadings. Major differences in the loadings occur in relation to items referring to drug use (see Tables 2 and 3). The drug use items loaded highly on the "gang" factor for the boys, while they formed the basis for a separate "drug culture" factor for the girls. Validation for the existence of separate "drug culture" and "leader/gang" factors for the girls is suggested in the significant relationships of these clusters with substance use. Accordingly, among the junior high school youths studied, drug involvement is more likely to form the basis of a self-identity for the girls, while for boys substance use tends to be tied to a variety of peer activities. The existence of a separate drug culture factor for the girls in comparison to the drug/gang culture factor for the boys suggests different social patterns of substance use that merit further investigation.

Our results indicate that drug abuse prevention must be seen as part of an effort to deal with the larger framework

of the lives of youngsters who live in the inner-city. Reflecting diverse environmental adaptations, the drug use of the youths we studied can most sensibly be addressed in the context of their personal, social, cultural and economic experience. Hence, individualistic approaches to drug abuse prevention, such as those favored by clinically oriented workers, will at best prove useful with a small minority of cases. What we need are creative, ethnographically informed programs designed to enhance what has come to be called "the quality of life" in given social settings. Such an environment would foster socially productive kinds of adaptations, rather than those, reflected in the drug/gang and drug culture orientations of the boys and girls we researched, which tend to be socially alienating (Knight, Sheposh and Bryson, 1974; also see Des Jarlais, 1972).

Drawing upon the experiences of the youths we studied, these issues constitute an important research agenda for us. Our work needs to illuminate further how individuals and patterns of drug use develop in different urban locations, using as a base some of the enriching work of Blumer, Sutter, Ahmed and Smith (1967), Sutter (1966, 1969) and Feldman (1968, 1973).

Based on our data, one might speculate that the youths we studied see a limited range of possibilities existing in their neighborhood for them to develop social identities.

These limitations already appear to be conceptualized by these youngsters, and the implications of this experience for their future development is an important matter for further investigation. Given the socio-economic and ethnic context of our research, we should be concerned with the potential consequences of these results for the youths' self-actualization.

Any attempts to deal with these issues must relate to the point of view that the boys and girls reflecting the drug/gang, drug culture and leader/gang self-perceptions we have uncovered can be regarded as successful in their environment. They can be so seen in the sense that they are seeking to use its personal and social resources in a manner they consider optimal. However, the more proficient they become in this effort, the less desirable the youths are seen to be as social persons by members of mainstream, middle-class society. One potential consequence of this process, as our results imply, can well be the continued loss of valuable human resources to our society. The suggestion of ways to reverse this tendency constitutes a challenge to social science and an opportunity to improve the quality of life in our cities.

NOTES

1. Although questions were asked in regard to tobacco use, these results are not reported here.

2. Tables of item loadings on each of the factors are available from the senior author upon request.

3. It is important to note that the youths who participated in the survey were not selected on a probability basis. Accordingly, use of the statistical model, strictly speaking, does not apply. However, it was used as a heuristic guide to highlight relationships.

4. As noted earlier, these correlations include zero value (factor score mean) substitutions for non-responses to the self-image items. This procedure permitted more cases to be used in the analysis, than those involved in the original, listwise omission procedure that resulted in the varimax self-image factor results presented in Tables 2 and 3. This is a conservative analysis decision in that the substitution procedure tends to reduce the level of association between a given self-image factor and other variables.

   Since an orthogonal rotation (varimax) was performed, the self-image factors are defined to be uncorrelated. The non-zero relationships between the factors for the boys and girls that are shown in Table 4 are an artifact of the procedure for estimating the factor scores (see Nunnally, 1967, p. 327).

   Due to the fact that the per cent of boys (85%) and girls (92%) on whom the original varimax factor solutions were obtained (see Tables 2 and 3) represented such a large proportion of the total of each group in the study, demographic, attitude, value and drug use comparisons of students answering and not responding to the self-image questions were not pursued.

5. Including attitudes to school in the partial correlation analyses does not effect the results reported for the boys. For the girls, only the relationship between educational self-image and drug involvement is significantly reduced (zero order $r=-.203$, $p<.001$; seventh order $r=-.054$, N.S.).

6. Partial correlation analyses indicate that these findings are unaffected by the interrelationships among the three self-image factors.

NOTES (Continued)

7. Partial correlation analyses indicate that these results are unaffected by the interrelationships among the three self-image clusters.

APPENDIX A

SELF-IMAGE ITEMS FOR THE BOYS

Andy is good looking. He never has any trouble picking up girls and spends a lot of time taking them out.	Joe is a member of his neighborhood gang. He likes hanging out with his friends and being involved in gang activities.
Bob is the sort of guy who gets along with everyone. He can take a joke, and he always shares things with his friends.	John gets good grades in his school subjects. Teachers like him because he always pays attention in class. John wants to go on to college.
Charlie always has things to do or places to go. He is a natural leader and the rest of the group usually follow him.	Ken has a good hustle and a con. He knows the ins and outs of the dope scene in his neighborhood. He has quite a few connections and people ask his advice on how to get high.
Frank is real "cool." He is a flashy dresser and into getting high on smoke (reefers).	Mike feels that most of the things you do in school are a waste of time. He is always fooling around in class and answering teachers back. He can't wait to get a job.
George spends most of his time out with his friends hanging around doing nothing special.	Paul likes records. He spends a lot of time listening to the radio or playing his own records.
Harry knows the ins and outs of the street and is able to deal with all kinds of people.	Peter works hard and always does the best he can, although he never gets top grades in any of his subjects. On the whole, he enjoys his classes.
Jason is a tough guy who enjoys showing how really tough he is. He is the kind of guy you can depend on in a fight.	Phil is good at sports. When he is not playing for his team or with his friends, he ususally goes to a game or watches sports on television.

APPENDIX B

SELF-IMAGE ITEMS FOR THE GIRLS

Carol likes records. She spends a lot of time listening to the radio or playing her own records.	Janey knows the ins and outs of the street and is able to deal with all kinds of people.
Cathy is a tomboy who enjoys showing how really tough she is. She is the kind of person you can depend on in a pinch.	Joan is the sort of person who gets along well with everyone. She can take a joke, and always shares things with her friends.
Diana is real "cool." She is a flashy dresser and into getting high on smoke (reefers).	Liz likes to spend most of her spare time at home. She is pretty good at cooking.
Fran knows how to make it in the streets. She knows the ins and outs of the dope scene in her neighborhood. She has quite a few connections and people ask her advice on how to get high.	Mary works hard and always does the best she can, although she never gets top grades in any of her subjects. On the whole, she enjoys her classes.
Gail always has things to do or places to go. She is a natural leader and the rest of the group usually follow her.	Pat is good looking and knows how to make the best of herself. Boys find her attractive and she is always being asked out.
Hilary gets good grades in her school subjects. Teachers like her because she always pays attention in class. Hilary wants to go on to college.	Sharon spends most of her time out with her friends hanging around doing nothing special.
Isabel is a member of her neighborhood gang. She likes hanging out with her friends and being involved in gang activities.	Sheila feels that most of the things you do in school are a waste of time. She is always fooling around in class and answering teachers back. She can't wait to get a job.

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